1: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1942
FF52 Nupe FF52

726 643 An unsuccessful army would never retreat, or return to Bida with the goal unachieved. One would call for reinforcements from the capital, which would be sent out together with a new *Nna 'Kũ* to replace the unsuccessful commander-in-chief. If these troops too were unable to bring the war to an end, the *Etsu* would take command personally, at the head of a third army composed largely of his own bodyguard and of the household troops of noblemen who had not joined the troops previously. During the king's absence from the capital a regency council, headed by the *Ndeji*, would be appointed to look after things at home. In the Yagba war the *Etsu* did not join the army but stayed behind, with his bodyguard of 200 men, which, together with the household troops of four noblemen who had remained in Bida, were the only trained soldiers to oppose the British attack. The king and the noblemen of high rank took the field accompanied by their whole household staff of slaves and servants, and often by their wives as well. They stayed in the Great Camp—consisting of huts of grass and matting—which was put up behind the fighting line or established in a hamlet near-by. A number of Nupe villages betray by their names that at one time the Great War Camp, *edokó*, had stood on their site.

The Nupe war was carried on till the capital of the enemy, that is, the village or walled town in which the chief resided, was captured. If the chief and the other leaders fled, they would be pursued until they were captured or until further pursuit became impossible. Often a fugitive chief sought refuge with the king of a neighbouring country whose territory the Nupe troops would have to respect. All captured places 727 were looted and burnt, and the whole enemy country devastated. But slaughter was avoided as far as possible—the defeated enemies were more valuable alive, to be sold later as slaves. Only when rebellions had to be put down by force of war the enemies, above all chiefs and leaders, would be killed mercilessly, either in the battle, or later in Bida, whither they were taken to be executed.

No less well defined than the etiquette of warfare were the rules and conventions governing the economic aspect of the Nupe wars—the division of loot and booty. All booty taken before the decisive battle—the capture of the enemy's capital—belonged to the king and was dispatched to him immediately. Upon the capture of the town *wasóso* was declared, free looting, in which everyone who fought in the battle could join. The shares in the spoils of war varied according to rank and position. The slave soldiers had to deliver everything to their masters but were rewarded with a small share in the booty they had taken. The *bara* soldiers could keep all booty in kind—(called *dukiya*, wealth)—but were expected to present some of it to their overlords as 'gift of thanks'; of the slaves whom they captured they had to surrender half the number to their overlords. The independent fighters, i.e. the sons of noble houses, kept whatever they captured, both 'wealth' and slaves, except for a voluntary gift to the head of the house. If I have at various occasions in this book called war in Nupe a profession and a source of income, these facts substantiate that view.

000 Let me conclude this description with the report of an eyewitness of

1: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1942
FF52 Nupe FF52

Let me conclude this description with the report of an eyewitness of standing—the youngest son of *Etsu* Masaba—who had fought in one of the last great wars of old Nupe, against the Kyedye. I have referred before to the origin of this war. It was the answer of the central government to the capture by the rebellious Kyedye of the town Kacha, which, having submitted to Fulani rule, appealed to Bida for protection against their unruly fellow tribesmen. It was, incidentally, also the last war in which the Niger Company assisted the Bida government. In the next war Niger Company troops were to turn against the Fulani, and (helped by the same Kyedye) to defeat the armies of the kingdom.

Since the time of Manko, *goy* and Kyedye were always at war. It happened like this. The Kyedye refused to recognize the Fulani kings. They contended that they were independent 'kings of the water'. So Manko sent his son Ibrahima from Raba to the *Kuta*, to come to an arrangement and to stop hostilities. But the Kyedye killed the messenger, cut his body to pieces, and threw it to the fish. Thereupon Manko went to fight them, but could not do much. So the wars between the two went on and on.

Later, at the time of *Etsu* Umaru, the Kyedye attacked Kacha under their *Kuta* Usman, because Kacha had submitted to the Fulani and accepted their *egba* (delegate). The Kacha people fled to Bida and asked for help. *Etsu* Umaru sent out a big army led by *Shaba* Mamudu. Most of the *gitsúži* went with him, and I was among them, also many *sarakiži* both from the *ena Maiyaki* and *ena Ndeji*. We were three days on the way, stopping twice for the night (Kacha is about 40 miles from Bida). We made camps of grass huts; some of us lived in a *tunga* near-by. For the great men we built huts with grass fences round. The army had guns and men and horses—you could not count them. In Kacha the water was covered with Kyedye canoes. We attacked at once, shooting from the banks down upon the canoes in the water. The boats of the Niger Company were helping the Fulani then. They closed the Kacha river in the back of the Kyedye. The Kyedye fled, and we crossed the river in canoes which they had left behind. The *Dokoyiringi* led the pursuit, accompanied by *Shaba* Mamudu. The rest of the troops followed later. We pursued the Kyedye on the other bank, both on land and water, for three days, as far as Lafiagi and Shonga. This was a war not only against the Kyedye, but also against Kupa and Ebagi, who were helping the Kyedye. All villages and hamlets were burnt down, numberless men and women captured. We made more than 2,000 slaves. Later they were all sold (although the Niger Company had asked for the release of the prisoners of war). At Shonga the war ended. Many Kyedye had been run down and captured or killed, but some hid in the creeks and the river forest. The chief and the seven elders of the Kyedye fled with their wives and children to Ilorin. It did not help them. Emir Aliyu (the Fulani Emir of Ilorin) sent them back as prisoners to Bida. Here they were held as hostages till *Etsu* Umaru's death. But shortly after his death *Etsu* Maliki condemned them to death, and they were strangled secretly at night in the houses where they lived.

In war, which is political action *par excellence*, the essence of state structure must reveal itself most clearly. We observe what we have recognized as an element of state organization: the monopoly position of the ruling group with regard to the employment of the political machinery, in this case military action. We see, too, that this monopoly of control is vested in the ruling group *corporately*: its individual members,